

E. A. BERGMAN

# Peace News

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## VIGIL STARTS TONIGHT

A VIGIL begins outside the H-bomber base at Brize Norton tonight (Friday). It will end on Whit-Monday when the vigilers will lead the March, which will have left Oxford on the previous day to protest against the manufacture, storing and testing of H-bombs, as well as test flights with the weapon, to a rallying point.

The march programme is as follows:

### Whit-Sunday:

10.15 a.m.—Rally in St. Giles, Oxford.

11 a.m.—March from Oxford to Witney.

7.30 p.m.—Rally at Witney.

### Whit-Monday:

10.30 a.m.—March from Witney to Brize Norton.

2.30 p.m.—Rally outside RAF/USAF base. Speakers at the Rally will include an American, Gene Sharp of Peace News, Alex Comfort, Harold Steele, Dr. Peter Astbury, Tribune writer Mervyn Jones and Mrs. Peggy Duff, National Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

"We have the support of the National Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament as well as the CND, CP, Friends, WFA, etc."

## Eight questioned on 'Isis' reprint

EIGHT members of the Universities and Left Review Club were detained by the police for over an hour and a half on Tuesday night for distributing copies of a leaflet edition of the *Isis* article on frontier incidents provoked by Western aircraft.

The authors of the original article are now facing prosecution for infringement of the Official Secrets Act.

The leaflet edition carries an inscription stating that the article is "reprinted by Universities and Left Review Club in response to public interest," and that it is "Printed and published by ULR Club, 41 Croftdown Rd., London, N.W.5."

Members of the ULR Club appeared at

# Nuclear disarmament MASS LOBBY SERVES NOTICE 'Other methods after June'—Soper

By Christopher Farley, Gene Sharp and Terence Chivers

DESPITE the London bus strike, 9,500 people travelled to Westminster on Tuesday for the Mass Lobby of MPs organised by the Nuclear Disarmament Mass Lobby Committee and backed by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Of these, 3,000 from 300 (out of 630) parliamentary constituencies were able to go through the House of Commons. Those unable to see their MPs sent post cards expressing their views and along with the others participated in four mass meetings in Central Hall, a long march through central London, and a mass open-air night meeting.

The first official act in the Mass Lobby was the laying of a gigantic wreath at the Cenotaph in Whitehall by about 40 Christian, Jewish and Buddhist leaders in the dress of their various orders.

The wreath was made of hundreds of flowers in the shape of the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign's semaphore symbol, with the one word "Pax."

At 5 p.m. the Mass Lobby began, though provincial constituents had been lobbying their MPs earlier.

At first there were only a few hundred outside the House of Commons waiting to see their MPs. They filed quite quickly into the central lobby where they gave notice that they wished to speak to their Member.

Many MPs were announced "not found," including Mr. Bevan, who annoyed a group of his constituents by walking only a minute later through the lobby. But soon the queues grew as people left work. Conspicuous among the lobbyists were scores of clergymen wearing ND semaphore badges.

Meanwhile all around the Westminster area Peace News sellers were out in strength. Hundreds of copies were sold, and after three or four hours almost everyone

"at a time when science has made possible food for all, health for all, schools for all."

But instead these new powers of science are being used for human destruction and death."

This was the alternative. "We come not to destroy but to create. I believe a generation is coming in the world today that will realise that purpose and that is the real significance of this demonstration."

A representative of the London University Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: "The student population of this country is something to be dealt with."

Stephen Swinburn, MP (Chmn., Victory for Socialism):

"As long as you have people who say that you must have a bomb or you are naked, you are a positive incitement to others to manufacture nuclear weapons."

He urged people to work "so in 1959 we can force whatever government that exists to accept a policy of nuclear disarmament."

## The March

THOUSANDS OF MARCHERS left Temple Station (near Waterloo Bridge) at 9.30 p.m. They marched for 50 minutes through central London to Montague Place, where the mass meeting had already started.

The marchers, from three to six abreast, took 15 minutes to march steadily past Dr. Soper's church in Kingsway, with its giant model over the entrance of a pierced hand releasing the dove of peace.

All the banners were there: "No H-bombs for Britain," "No missile bases here," "From fear to sanity," and "Black the H-bombs and the bases, says News-

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"We have the support of the National Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament as well as that of both the Oxford and Witney area Campaigns and the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War," the organising secretary, Lionel Cliffe, told Peace News.

## H-protestors denied entry into USSR

THE five Americans in Europe protesting against nuclear weapons have not been granted entry into the Soviet Union.

The group waited 17 days in Helsinki for visas which had been promised by Soviet officials in Washington several weeks earlier.

Then they were told last week by an official at the Soviet Consulate in Helsinki that while there was no official word from Moscow, it was his "private opinion" that they would not get visas to enter Russia.

The five Americans, representing Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, wrote a strong protest to Mr. Khrushchov before departing for home.

Next week in PN: The letter to Khrushchov; and Bayard Rustin, one of the team, talks to PN about the project—and the future.

## GOLDEN RULE APPEAL

THE appeal of the crew of the H-protest ketch "Golden Rule" was to be heard in San Francisco on Wednesday. Next week in PN: the story of their trial in Honolulu for "criminal contempt of court" and the public reaction in Hawaii.

## MANCHESTER UNDER THE BOMB

A DRAMATIC coloured folder on the effect of an H-bomb falling on Manchester was distributed at two mass meetings in the city on Wednesday. It is published by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Victoria Arcade, 32 Deansgate, Manchester 3.

Left Review Club were distributing a leaflet for over an hour and half on Tuesday night for distributing copies of a leaflet edition of the Isis article on frontier incidents provoked by Western aircraft.

The authors of the original article are now facing prosecution for infringement of the Official Secrets Act.

The leaflet edition carries an inscription stating that the article is "reprinted by Universities and Left Review Club in response to public interest," and that it is "Printed and published by ULR Club, 41 Croftdown Rd, London, N.W.5."

Members of the ULR Club appeared at Central Hall about 5 p.m. and began selling the leaflets openly for 3d. each.

After about five minutes several plain clothes police officers approached, eight of them individually.

The police took the leaflets in their possession and gave a receipt for them.

## ALL RESPONSIBLE

Each of the eight individually made a statement. Mike Segal, as Secretary of the ULR Club, made a longer statement than the others, and police indicated that if legal action were taken he as Secretary would be held responsible.

However, one of the group told this reporter: "We are all responsible." Still another seller said that the group hoped to establish the collective responsibility of the "20 or 30" sellers, rather than allowing a possible charge to be placed against one or two people only.

"We didn't think anything would happen because we were not divulging official secrets" but only distributing what others had written, one of them said. The original authors, unlike the sellers, were as members of the armed forces committed to the Official Secrets Act.

After obtaining statements the police released the group and returned the leaflets. The police treated them courteously and were "very nice."

Apparently the police were not themselves sure of the legal situation, one of the group said.

After being released, the group sold more copies of the leaflet openly at the outdoor meeting at Montague Place.

Dr. H. V. Evatt, Opposition leader, is scheduled to speak at a "Stop Hydrogen Bomb Tests Now!" rally on May 25, 3 p.m., at the Lyceum Theatre, Pitt St., Sydney, Australia.

see their MPs. They filed quite quickly into the central lobby where they gave notice that they wished to speak to their Member.

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Meanwhile all around the Westminster area Peace News sellers were out in strength. Hundreds of copies were sold, and after three or four hours almost everyone seemed to be carrying last week's feature article introducing the consideration of industrial action to prevent nuclear war.

Everywhere there was an atmosphere of great excitement, despite its orderly setting.

The queue to enter the House of Commons grew to thousands and extended four deep down the length of the Houses of Parliament and Victoria Tower Gardens in Millbank.

## Central Hall

OVER 7,500 people were estimated to have attended the four Central Hall meetings addressed by 21 Labour MPs and 39 other speakers, principally Labour Party and Trade Union officials.

Many of them pushed forward the Labour Party as the political answer.

Said at the Central Hall:

James Cameron (who had returned two hours earlier from Paris): "In July the French are scheduled to have their tests in the Sahara. Who is to have control of that button?"

John Stonehouse, MP (just back from Germany): "What we do in this country is going to have an enormous effect on other countries (about to make their own H-bombs)."

David Wescott (London Co-op Political Committee): The London Co-op Party "have declared themselves without equivocation on the issue of the H-bomb."

Frank Beswick, MP: "There is enough material here for a revolution if only we work hard enough." (Loud applause.)

Ben Levy (Chairing the last meeting) said Peace News had informed him that Mr. Evatt was addressing a meeting on this issue on Sunday in Sydney, Australia. After applause he received authorisation to send a message of solidarity.

Fenner Brockway, MP (greeted with long applause): "Two-thirds of the population of the earth is hungry" and yet we live

## The March

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The marchers, from three to six abreast, took 15 minutes to march steadily past Dr. Soper's church in Kingsway, with its giant model over the entrance of a pierced hand releasing the dove of peace.

All the banners were there: "No H-bombs for Britain," "No missile bases here," "From fear to sanity," and "Black the H-bombs and the bases, says Newsletter." A gigantic streamer read: "No votes for MPs who do not support unilateral action now to abolish nuclear weapons."

And all the local groups had their own posters too: Greenwich, Caterham, Sevenoaks, Birmingham University, Harlow and Epping.

Soon the marchers started their chants: "No work on H-bombs, no work on rocket sites," roared hundreds of voices in the still evening.

"We say ban the bomb." Then a group of about 200 marchers took out their copies of Peace News and sang last week's H-bomb song to the tune of "John Brown's Body."

Finally, at Montague Place the marchers were greeted with spontaneous cheering as thousands of them poured into the area between the British Museum and the University's Senate House. They were still singing that song.

## Final Rally

THERE were repeated references to "other methods," "industrial action," and refusal to work on nuclear weapons and bases during the final open-air mass meeting of lobbyists at Montague Place.

The first speaker, Percy Bell (London Co-op Political Committee) asked: "Why do we concentrate on the question of nuclear warfare? Our view is that unless you deal with this first you can deal with nothing else."

One could not deal with any other of the most important problems . . . until one had dealt with the central problem of the belief in armed force as a means of international policy. And to deal with that problem you had to have a focal issue—nuclear weapons.

Ron Huzzard, speaking as a trade union member, urged TU members to get their union branches to put resolutions against the bomb on their agenda.

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## Four-day vigil in Philadelphia

**A**BOUT 150 people picketed the US Courthouse in Philadelphia last week in protest against nuclear tests and the arrest of the Golden Rule's crew. The vigil continued uninterrupted for four days through torrents of rain and a Civil Defence drill.

"It was the fastest-organised non-violent demonstration to date," one of the participants, Bob Luitweiler, reported to Peace News. "Pacifists set their telephone chain warning 'minute men' in action. In a few hours one group gathered at Frankford Friends Meeting, another in Camden, NJ, and others around West Chester to converge on the US Courthouse. Posters were distributed, a leaflet duplicated, and the groups set off—the Frankford group walking.

"Thirteen people, prepared to face arrest, including eight-year-old Alan Willoughby (son of George Willoughby of the Golden Rule's crew) walked right through the Civil Defence drill while police cars, sirens screeching, raced TV cameramen up to film us. David Gale, former Golden Rule crew member, and Lillian Willoughby, wife of George Willoughby, had a 15-minute radio interview," Luitweiler reports.

### 75 SIGN STATEMENTS

Seventy-five people signed the statement identifying themselves with the action of the crew. The statement which was widely used in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago says that the signers encouraged and supported the crew, and if the crew is guilty they are guilty too, and should be accorded the same treatment by the Department of Justice.

The statement was publicly read; then a copy mailed with all the signatures to Albert Bigelow, skipper of the "Golden Rule," in the Honolulu city jail. The original with all the signatures was presented to an assistant of the US Attorney, with 20 signers present and a lively but friendly discussion followed.

Assessing the project, Bob Luitweiler comments: "The unexpected arrest of the crew in Hawaii caught us only half prepared. Now our telephone chain is being permanently established and has already been used again to get support for the deputation sitting at AEC headquarters in

## A Manchester idea for A protest on wheels

CARS mounted with poster boards protesting against the H-bomb is the latest idea to be sent to the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War for the June 22 nation-wide march on London.

Phil Smith, an Eccles, Manchester, Quaker, worked out the device for mounting the poster board on the car roof and sent the diagram to Salford, Manchester, MP, Frank Allaun, a member of the Direct Action Committee.

Cars mounted with poster boards have already done valiant service in motorised poster parades in the Manchester and Salford area.

Here's how to make the device on the car roof which holds the poster in position: You need three pieces of wood: one piece four feet long by two inches by one inch, and two pieces two feet long by two inches by one inch.

The triangles are cut from six-ply wood.

### Jail refused to U.S. law-breakers

NINE US pacifists who openly defied New York's Civil Defence law on May 6 were later that day denied admittance to jail, the magistrate suspending their 30-day sentences.

The nine were five members of the Catholic Worker (the Catholic-pacifist-anarchist newspaper) staff—Ammon Hennacy, Dorothy Day, Karl Meyer, Deane Mowrer and Kieran Dugan, two officials of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers)—Robert Gilmore and Stewart Meacham, and two members of the Peacemakers Executive Committee—Arthur Harvey and Al Uhrie.

The Civil Defence exercise started while the group were picketing the Atomic Energy Commission offices.

### OPPOSING MILITARISM

The pickets sought the release of the crew of the Golden Rule and an end to nuclear tests; their civil disobedience action was undertaken because of a refusal to take part in war preparations and as a protest against the idea of Civil Defence against H-bomb attack, reports Arthur Harvey.

When the sirens blew at the beginning of

From the right angle they measure 11 inches high and six inches long.

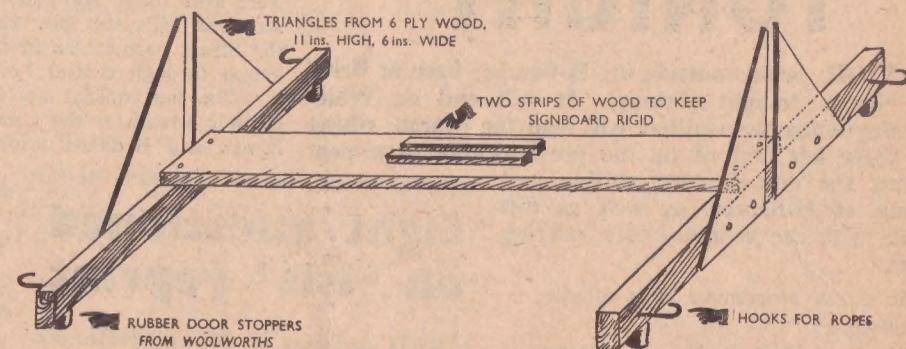
In addition you will need four rubber door stoppers, four hooks—for the ropes which hold the device to the car—and two strips of wood (centre of the diagram) for holding the poster in position. All joints are screwed.

The length of the centre piece of wood—four feet in the diagram—can be made longer or shorter according to the car it is required to fit.

The poster board, made of hardboard, is four feet six inches long by one foot three inches high, but it can be made much larger if desired.

The total cost is about seven shillings and sixpence.

See diagram below



Mr. Phil Smith's car with the poster board in position, and with the poster board down, so as to show the device which holds the board in place.

### Hackney applauds Canon Collins

"THE Government tells us that our 20 H-bombs are a deterrent to the Russians. It is estimated that the Russians have at least 2,000 H-bombs, but these are no deterrent to Duncan Sandys, who proposes to use the H-bomb against a conventional Russian attack," Canon Collins said in Hackney last week.

Even to contemplate using the H-bomb seemed so wicked, he said, that if getting rid of it meant that Britain would have to pay a heavy price, then he would still

### University committee on defence

A BRITISH inter-University academic staff committee on defence policy is proposed. "We hope this will become a study group and a pressure group," Professor Gower, spokesman of the London University staff interim committee, told the recent Nuclear Disarmament meeting.

London University lecturers were the first University to organise their support for nuclear disarmament. "We started spontaneously in February and got over

ment of Justice.

The statement was publicly read; then a copy mailed with all the signatures to Albert Bigelow, skipper of the "Golden Rule," in the Honolulu city jail. The original with all the signatures was presented to an assistant of the US Attorney, with 20 signers present and a lively but friendly discussion followed.

Assessing the project, Bob Luitweiler comments: "The unexpected arrest of the crew in Hawaii caught us only half prepared. Now our telephone chain is being permanently established and has already been used again to get support for the deputation sitting at AEC headquarters in Germantown, Maryland.

From the Public Lobby of the Germantown AEC building, Luitweiler adds: "from every quarter comes encouraging evidence of a popular awakening and an increased readiness of pacifists to walk, picket and fast for their timely and critical cause."

## Students discuss the Bomb

STUDENT delegates from many British Universities and student Unions met at Birmingham University recently for the Universities' Nuclear Disarmament Conference.

Top level negotiations and the abandonment of nuclear weapon tests were demanded by the Conference, Eric Green reports. The British Government was urged to propose at Summit talks the establishment of a nuclear-free Central Europe with inspection safeguards eventually cleared of all foreign troops, and a ban on the export of arms to the Middle East.

A general disarmament convention was urged. Meanwhile, Britain should renounce her nuclear weapons in order to restrict the possession of these weapons and to aid the establishment of an experimental system of international inspection.

It was suggested that a petition be circulated urging students to refuse any work connected with nuclear weapons.

At a recent meeting in the Cambridge Guildhall, addressed by Miles Malleson, Philip Toynbee, Kingsley Martin and Anna Bidder, with Rev. J. Degwel Thomas in the chair, nearly 200 new members were gathered for the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

makers Executive Committee — Arthur Harvey and Al Uhrie.

The Civil Defence exercise started while the group were picketing the Atomic Energy Commission offices.

### OPPOSING MILITARISM

The pickets sought the release of the crew of the Golden Rule and an end to nuclear tests; their civil disobedience action was undertaken because of a refusal to take part in war preparations and as a protest against the idea of Civil Defence against H-bomb attack, reports Arthur Harvey.

When the sirens blew at the beginning of the exercise, the group refused to obey police orders to enter the shelters.

The Chief of the Auxiliary Police testifying in court later pointed out that several of the group had already received three convictions for the same offence.

When asked by the magistrate for their reasons for refusing to obey the exercise the spokesman of the group replied that they were opposing the whole militarist system of which Civil Defence was a part.

Nine young people in Rochester, New York, who also defied the exercise were not arrested by the police. All this points to the possibility of the suspension of US nuclear tests by the end of July, comments Arthur Harvey.

## THE CAMPAIGN IN NORTHERN IRELAND

**A**BOUT 120 people, including representatives of various organisations, attended a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meeting in Belfast, Northern Ireland, on April 21.

The film "Shadow of Hiroshima" was shown, and Dr. O. White, lecturer in Physics at the Belfast Technical College, spoke on "The Implications of Atomic Radiation," followed by Professor J. E. Davey on the Christian pacifist point of view.

Cards requesting the names and addresses of those interested in further meetings and those willing to help the Campaign were distributed at the meeting.

As a result, the Belfast Trades Council, a school and two provincial towns have requested speakers.

The Chairman of the *ad hoc* local committee of the Campaign is the Rev. Alex Watson, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Secretary is Stephan Gilbert.

## Hackney applauds Canon Collins

"THE Government tells us that our 20 H-bombs are a deterrent to the Russians. It is estimated that the Russians have at least 2,000 H-bombs, but these are no deterrent to Duncan Sandys, who proposes to use the H-bomb against a conventional Russian attack," Canon Collins said in Hackney last week.

Even to contemplate using the H-bomb seemed so wicked, he said, that if getting rid of it meant that Britain would have to pay a heavy price, she would still have to be prepared to pay that price.

**Tremendous applause from the audience at the Town Hall greeted Canon Collins' claim that the justification for nuclear disarmament was precisely that nuclear weapons were totally evil.**

He appealed particularly to members of Churches "to shake their congregations out of their apathy."

The meeting, organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and also addressed by Konni Zilliacus, MP, and Rabbi André Ungar, carried unanimously a resolution pledging itself "to do all in its power to help to free the world from the threat of nuclear war."

## NEW FACES IN HIROSHIMA

"IT seems to me that the new faces are more terrible than the mutilated ones," Harold Steele said recently, speaking of the victims of the atom bombs dropped on Japan.

As if they now had a feeling of regret, the Americans were giving numbers of young people from Hiroshima the last word in plastic surgery.

Harold Steele was addressing a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meeting in Hereford. The mutilated faces had been one of the most ghastly sights he had encountered on his attempt to reach Christmas Island last year to make a personal protest against the testing of nuclear weapons.

## Adenauer hopes to stop referendum

THE Federal Government of Western Germany has made moves to stop a referendum on nuclear weapons in the city state of Hamburg.

They have asked the Constitutional Court for an injunction on the grounds that a referendum is contrary to the Constitution.

The move for the referendum follows on a mass demonstration in Hamburg. Other

## University committee on defence

A BRITISH inter-University academic staff committee on defence policy is proposed. "We hope this will become a study group and a pressure group," Professor Gower, spokesman of the London University staff interim committee, told a recent Nuclear Disarmament meeting.

London University lecturers were the first University to organise their support for nuclear disarmament. "We started spontaneously in February . . . and got over 200 signatures in 36 hours," reported Prof. Gower. The Prime Minister replied with a 2,000 word letter—"a sort of *apologia* for nuclear weapons."

## Heard 30 speakers

THE all-day meeting held in Nottingham Market Square by the Nottingham Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was addressed by 30 local speakers who voiced their opposition to the H-bomb. Crowds varied from a few to 200, but, reports Norman Iles, in all thousands of people heard the speakers. Four dozen Peace News were sold and many leaflets distributed.

## Reading students to provide scholarship

A FULL-TIME University scholarship for an African from Southern Africa is planned by Reading University students. It will be provided for an African of the Union of South Africa or the High Commission Territories in view of the restrictions imposed on African education by the present policy of Apartheid.

£1,800 is needed for the scholarship, and Reading students have already raised £200 in one term. Dr. Paul White, the senior treasurer of the fund, is now appealing to "all sections of the community" for support.

calls for referenda have come from towns in Hessen, where the churches and unions have given a lead in planning big demonstrations.

Over 3,000 attended a recent meeting in Mainz.

Frankfurt is definitely going ahead with plans for a referendum on June 29, a city official told Peace News last week. They

## Germany talks it over



A discussion in Hamburg market place. Helga Stolle and Mr. Hertling, both active workers in the Hamburg pacifist groups are pictured on either side of a poster during the vigil which was set up outside Hamburg Town Hall after 150,000 people had taken part in a demonstration against nuclear weapons in Hamburg on April 17. The poster reads: He who uses the atom bomb, shall die by the atom bomb.

## CONVENTIONAL FORCES WOULDN'T INCREASE

THE view that any reduction in nuclear weapons would involve an increase in conventional forces (requiring the continuation of military conscription) was challenged in a statement issued on April 30 by the No Conscription Council, following its Annual General Meeting:

“Agreement to end the threat of nuclear warfare must be considered as a first step in a process of general disarmament to be carried into the field of conventional weapons and forces with the ending of conscription in all countries.”

## One month behind

THE few lovely warm days early in May seemed to promise the end of a rather long winter, but in my travels since then I have met with ground frost in Halifax,

# Denmark: 10,000 protest against nuclear weapons

BETWEEN 8,000 and 10,000 people flocked into Copenhagen's Town Hall Square on Monday, May 5, to hear a protest meeting against nuclear weapons.

This was one of several demonstrations made by many people of varying views who seized the opportunity of the NATO Conference, held in the Danish capital from May 5-7, for demonstrations against the nuclear arms race, reports Niels Jonassen.

A few hours before the meeting conscientious objectors from a CO camp in Gribskov, north of Copenhagen, marched through the streets of Copenhagen to the Town Hall Square with large banners advertising the meeting. Among those who spoke at the meeting was Emanuel Vestbo, Chairman of the Jutland Small Holders' Association, who recently presented the Prime Minister with 11,000 signatures to the Albert Schweitzer Appeal against nuclear tests.

Several days previously, the periodical *Frit Danmark* (Free Denmark)—an illegal paper during the German occupation—had sent out postcards bearing a printed protest against nuclear weapons.

The cards were signed and sent to Prime Minister, H. C. Hansen, by over 10,000 people.

Meanwhile, in Gribskov, conscientious objectors were printing posters to be hung up in the streets of Copenhagen the night before, advertising the May 5 meeting. Six COs were arrested while doing this, but were soon released after being fined about £2 each. Quite a lot of publicity was given this incident by the newspapers appearing on the same day as the opening of the NATO Conference.

## Other meetings

The day before the May 5 meeting the Danish section of the War Resisters' International held a public meeting also in the Town Hall Square. Although the meeting had not been widely advertised about 1,000 people attended and listened to the three speakers: Otto Mathiassen, Editor of the Danish pacifist monthly, Borge Pehrsson, workers' representative at the large Atlas refrigerator works, and Niels Jonassen, the chairman of the Copenhagen group of *Aldrig mere Krig*, the Danish section of the

Danish Red Cross, who warned of the dangers of the nuclear arms race.

A strong contingent of youth from the Social Democratic Party—the governing party—came to this meeting to cause trouble. After half an hour of their howling and screaming, the police had to be called to allow the speakers to be heard. In the meantime, Aage Schoch had left.

The Social Democrats, being the governing party, feel obliged to defend NATO decisions, writes Niels Jonassen. Also their Press minimises protest actions, more even than the Conservative papers.

Although a number of journalists attended the various demonstrations and meetings, the papers barely mentioned them. Reports of the NATO meeting dominated the front pages of all the papers except the Communist daily, “Land og Folk,” which, on the other hand, only mentioned the actions which Communists helped to organise.

However, concludes Niels Jonassen, if more famous people can be brought to the platforms, even though this may require much co-operation, the Press will be unable to ignore the speakers.

## Film ban sparks off non-violent march By BASIL DELAINE

THE Indians in Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia, staged “a non-violent march through the city” recently—in protest against the colour bar at the city hall.

The march was inspired by the Council's refusal to allow the Indians to see the all-European amateur production “The Man Who Came to Dinner.”

## U.S. foreign policy— ‘bad and dangerous’

CONCERN with preservation of peace and dissatisfaction with United States foreign policy were recurring, if not dominant, themes of

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## UP AND DOING

### BASE DETAILS

If I were fierce and bald and short of breath,  
I'd live with scarlet majors at the base.

So wrote Siegfried Sassoon during World War I. But life at the base in those days was apparently, a very different affair from what it is now. No “guzzling and gulping in the best hotel” for the scarlet majors to-day—they've got to be out and on their toes on the look-out for Comfort “Snark Hunters.”

Already one of our readers in Lincolnshire, Mr. John Young, has scored a hit. An RAF aerodrome in his area is, he believes, going to be converted into the first British missile base. He has taken immediate action. First he ordered 7 dozen copies of Peace News and distributed them in the area. Now he has followed up with a hundred copies of the Schweitzer appeal supplement “to let the people know the facts.”

Not all of us are unfortunate enough to have a missile base close by, but we all share the responsibility for making the facts known and awakening the people to the danger and the wickedness of what is going on in our name.

Wherever you are, whatever you do, you can help in this work. Will you?

MICHAEL RANDLE,  
Sales Organiser.



Special postal offer  
to new readers

"Agreement to end the threat of nuclear warfare must be considered as a first step in a process of general disarmament to be carried into the field of conventional weapons and forces with the ending of conscription in all countries."

## One month behind



THE few lovely warm days early in May seemed to promise the end of a rather long winter, but in my travels since then I have met with ground frost in Halifax, heavy rain in Manchester, a fresh powdering of snow on the peaks in Westmorland, and a cold east wind at Yarmouth!

Although the green of the fields, the blossoms on may and cherry trees, and the primroses and daffodils help to make up the lovely picture of spring, everything seems to be about a month late, without any guarantee that the cold weather has gone for good. But we are hoping for fine weather for the Trafalgar Square rally on May 17, for various other meetings during the summer and not least for the PPU Summer Holiday Conference at Borth August 16-23.

The total of the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund would also seem to be more than a month behind what it ought to be, because although our aim for the year is £1,200, we have so far only received £339. Indeed, we would not have reached that total except for the generous gifts of one or two friends in the last few weeks. That is not to say that we are not also grateful to those who can only afford smaller amounts, but it does need a good many half-crown or 5s. postal orders and 10s. or £1 notes to keep up the steady flow of £100 a month. Will you, therefore, please, help us to catch up, so that by the end of May we may be able to record £500 and be on level terms again.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,200.

Amount received to date: £339.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

given this incident of the newspaper appearing on the same day as the opening of the NATO Conference.

## Other meetings

The day before the May 5 meeting the Danish section of the War Resisters' International held a public meeting also in the Town Hall Square. Although the meeting had not been widely advertised about 1,000 people attended and listened to the three speakers: Otto Mathiasen, Editor of the Danish pacifist monthly, Borge Pehrsson, workers' representative at the large Atlas refrigerator works, and Niels Jonassen, the chairman of the Copenhagen group of *Aldrig mere Krig*, the Danish section of the War Resisters' International, who had come from the CO camp in Gribskov.

The same evening, a student organisation arranged a big in-door meeting. One of the speakers was Aage Schoch, the former chief editor of the biggest Conservative daily, *Berlingske Tidende*, and for a period after the war the managing director of the

## The people wait for a moral lead

From a Correspondent

THE importance of pacifists maintaining their own clear and uncompromising position was stressed by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, when he addressed a meeting organised in Halifax on May 8 by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Pledge Union, and the Society of Friends.

Speaking on "Total Peace—We say Yes." Mr. Morris pointed out the fallacy of the claim that by getting rid of H-bombs you would get rid of war. Nothing less than the renunciation of war would have any serious result, he declared.

What the world needed more than anything else at the moment was a new moral lead; it was what people were waiting for, were crying out for. It was the kind of lead people had the right to expect from the Christian churches, but it would only come if they made up their minds that the Christian attitude to war must be the complete renunciation of it.

The only way in which people could get the Government to change their policy was to build up a public opinion in this country which wanted the renunciation of war.

Staged a "March through the city" recently — in protest against the colour bar at the city hall.

The march was inspired by the Council's refusal to allow the Indians to see the all-European amateur production "The Man Who Came to Dinner."

## U.S. foreign policy— 'bad and dangerous'

CONCERN with preservation of peace and dissatisfaction with United States foreign policy were recurring, if not dominant, themes of the 1958 conference of the Western Political Science Association, held at Arizona State College, Tempe, Arizona, USA, on April 12 and 13.

The main attack on US foreign policy—and on too-uncritical support for it by American political scientists—came in a full-length, hard-hitting address by Neal Houghton of the University of Washington. His topic was "Political Scientists' Challenge in Recent and Current American Foreign Policy: Scholarship or Indoctrination?"

U.S. foreign policy is conducted badly and dangerously, according to Houghton. "Today our so-called defence is a liability," he charged. No imaginable catastrophe, on earth or in outer space, would be so great as a nuclear war to prevent it.

"Our policy has been largely based on fear of Russian military aggression," he stated, "yet no scholarly analysis substantiates the notion that this danger is real."

The US need not expect to win the cold war, Houghton warned, charging that current American leadership has consistently misjudged Russia since 1917. "We need not expect Russia to fight the cold war on our terms," he quipped, suggesting that we abandon the whole effort.

## Committee to help Isis students

THE Isis Committee has been formed at Oxford for the defence of the two undergraduates summoned under the Official Secrets Act in connection with their article in *Isis* on frontier "incidents."

Among supporters are the Council of Civil Liberties, Frank Allaun, MP, Peter Kirk, MP, J. B. Priestley and Kingsley Martin.

half. We are ratepayers and have as much right to use the hall as have the white settlers."

When an Indian delegation went to Mayor W. McNeillie and Town Clerk E. White they were told that the Indians should be "patient" and "display a sense of humour" about the colour-bar.

The Indians replied that their people in Rhodesia and Nyasaland had been patient for 20 years.

The March was to be staged on the opening night of the play.

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## Lebanon

THE sensational events in Algeria and France have demoted the insurrection in Lebanon to second-class news. But, though thus causing the Lebanese trouble to slip into the background of people's minds, these events are really increasing the danger to world peace through the repercussions now to be expected throughout the Arab world and upon East v. West relations.

As far as the actual Middle East is concerned, until a fortnight ago the Yemen and the Aden Protectorate were the only places where there was real fighting; and this fighting could still be treated as in a way local, because it did not directly involve anyone on the Western side except Britain, and on the Arab side the Yemenis—and not all of these.

But no stretching of the meaning of words can allow us to apply the term local to recent developments in the Lebanese rebellion.

It has already caused British and American fleet movements towards the Eastern Mediterranean, an acknowledged supply of American police weapon aids to President Chamoun, a further US declaration that more help will be furnished, and the involvement not only of Egyptian and other Arab sympathies for the rebels but also that of the Russians—to which must be added that it is a declared point of Soviet policy that there "must be no intervention" in the internal affairs of Middle East States.

Though denied by Cairo, it seems pretty certain that the first—strictly underground—interference in internal Lebanese affairs came from Egyptian sources, mainly via Syria in the form of arms and ammunition. But the people welcoming these in the Lebanon were not a few political intriguers, nor were or are they particularly Moscow-minded, though they may well become so in the near future.

## Pro-Westernism

LEAVING the charges and counter-charges of recent days aside, the fundamental trouble dates back to the determined opposition of a great part of the Lebanese population to their intensely pro-Western President Chamoun's enthusiastic acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

This opposition was not, in its origin, anti-Western. It was pro-Western and Arab.



gents accuse him of dictatorialis tendencies and disrespect for the constitution.

Just as Cypriots and Turks got on well together in Cyprus until Britain magnified their differences by resisting the call for independence, so Christians and Moslems lived in amity in the Lebanon until the Eisenhower Doctrine split the country into opposing factions—in which, incidentally, it is to be noted that quite a number of Christians are on the side of the anti-Chamounists.

Now, added to all this, come the unfortunate effects of the events in Algeria, further intensifying racial feelings and Soviet v. West antagonisms. Since the Americans seem determined to help the Lebanese Government in every possible way, and the Soviets make a point of world policy of "no outside intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the Middle East," the situation is plainly one of immediate danger.

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## THE NEMESIS OF MILITARISM

### WHAT IS HAPPENING IN FRANCE is a natural outcome from its imperialistic militarism.

France regards herself as a pioneer in developing European democracy, and has constantly insisted that Algeria is part of France. But there has never been the slightest intention of giving the non-European Algerian population the proportionate influence in the control of French affairs to which it would be entitled.

Algeria is a remarkable demonstration of the truth that any type of slavery involves a two-fold destruction of freedom: that of the slave and that of the slave-holder. Ironically, all major aspects of French policy in recent years have been either dictated or conditioned by the Algerian situation.

The events in France and Algeria are an even more striking demonstration of the destruction wrought by militarism. What we have been witnessing is an attempt by 1,250,000 Europeans in Algeria to direct how France itself should be governed. Although there is reason to hope this attempt has failed, it was by no means without prospect of success.



IMPERIALISM HAS TWO inevitable consequences. It attracts to its service those with little regard for democracy. And it develops in people associated with it a contempt for democratic practice. It does this both to the soldiers who implement the policies of imperialism, and to the colonists who seek to profit by it.

## Christian H-bomber

WE referred last week to the article in the New York Times Magazine by Mr. George Barratt on the operations of the US Strategic Air Command in Britain. For the purpose of his article he had interviewed the crew of one of the bombers at an air base near Oxford. These were Major Briggs (33), commander, Captain Young (36), co-pilot, and Lt.-Colonel Howard P. Hall (39), the man whose responsibility it would be to drop the bomb.

For those whose imaginations are not petrified by the immensity of the H-bomb threat there must be speculation as to what is happening in the minds of such men as these.

Colonel Hall opened out a trifle to Mr. Barratt. "Look," he said, "we have all thought a lot about this, but we don't talk about it much. We see it as a dirty job that may have to be done even if we don't want to have to do it. I've thought, too, about whether it is Christian or not. But no war is Christian, no killing is Christian."

Now, except for the appalling thing he may do some day with his own hand, Colonel Hall is not exceptional among those who, like him, regard themselves as Christian. He justifies what he is training for, not on the ground that it is compatible with Christ's teaching, but on the ground that men, calling themselves Christians, have already accepted that they will do things, not so terrible as the instantaneous destruction of the population of a city, but still incompatible with the teaching of Christ.

What strikes us about this attitude is its stupendous inconsequentiality. Whatever may be said about the outlook the men of the Strategic Air Command have to bring to their job it requires a very high degree of intellectual precision. Even in the pre-flight checking there must be no mental hiatus, no inconsequentiality in regard to cause and effect. And yet in this matter—as a Christian Colonel Hall presumably regards as the most important thing in his outlook on life—he seems to find nothing to boggle at in this complete absence of a disposition to follow a thought through to its conclusion.

Those who can think like this must surely regard Christ not as a divine teacher but as something of a fool who was unable to face the facts of life.

## Meaning of Apartheid

THERE have always been two trends of thought—or perhaps it would be more correct to say two types of aspiration—among those Afrikaans and British South Africans who support apartheid.

But the people who are the leaders of the Lebanon were not a few political intriguers, nor were or are they particularly Moscow-minded, though they may well become so in the near future.

## Pro-Westernism

LEAVING the charges and counter-charges of recent days aside, the fundamental trouble dates back to the determined opposition of a great part of the Lebanese population to their intensely pro-Western President Chamoun's enthusiastic acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

This opposition was not, in its origin, anti-Western. It was neutralistic and Arab-nationalist, because the Lebanese, politically more advanced than their eastern neighbours, were better able to gauge the long-term effects of commitment to one of the two great world blocs.

If the Eisenhower Doctrine had not come into the world just after the Americans had so plainly shown their disapproval of the Franco-British Suez adventure, even President Chamoun might not have been so keen about it.

As matters stood at the time, he saw in it Middle Eastern liberation from Franco-British attempts to reimpose colonialism, security against possible Soviet expansion, and, at the same time, the maintenance of friendly relations with the West in general. All in all, it was not an unreasonable view to take. But it was far from being shared by all Lebanese.

Though the fact is generally forgotten now, the Eisenhower Doctrine was bulldozed through the Lebanese Parliament rather than accepted by it. And ever since its adoption the country has been deeply divided, with the division growing worse as President Chamoun's pro-Westernism has brought him into direct enmity against President Nasser, and the 40 per cent of the Moslem population have more and more drifted into fanatic support of Nasser's aspirations.

## Dictator?

TO aggravate matters further, President Chamoun now proposes to alter the constitution, which at present forbids him to serve a second term as President, in order to allow him to do so. No one will be surprised therefore to learn that the insur-

and that of the slave-holder. Ironically, all major aspects of French policy in recent years have been either dictated or conditioned by the Algerian situation.

The events in France and Algeria are an even more striking demonstration of the destruction wrought by militarism. What we have been witnessing is an attempt by 1,250,000 Europeans in Algeria to direct how France itself should be governed. Although there is reason to hope this attempt has failed, it was by no means without prospect of success.



**IMPERIALISM HAS TWO** inevitable consequences. It attracts to its service those with little regard for democracy. And it develops in people associated with it a contempt for democratic practice. It does this both to the soldiers who implement the policies of imperialism, and to the colonists who seek to profit by it.

On the surface the Algerian colonists may seem to display more obvious characteristics of ruthless gangsterism than do, say, British colonists in Kenya.

We do not believe there is any essential difference, however. The difference is a result of the greater numbers of the Algerian colonists and the more immediate threat to their domination.

Imperialism may bring incidental material improvements—among other results—to the subject peoples. But anyone who knows the history of imperialism or the attitudes of the colonists knows that in no sense are these people dedicated to the welfare of the subject peoples among whom they live.

There are, of course, good and bad people among them, as everywhere. But these people have become colonists as a business matter and because working in a colony seems to offer a more remunerative life than in their homeland. But this more lucrative colonial life depends on keeping the native population in undemocratic subjection.



**PEOPLE WHOSE OWN INTERESTS** depend on keeping a whole people in subjection cannot continue to hold to the values upon which the democratic conception rests. Their whole lives, therefore, are lived in conditions which destroy their capacity for democratic citizenship.

When a crisis develops through the growing resolve of the suppressed people to achieve democratic freedom, the defenders of colonialism resort to career soldiers, who also have lived their lives in conditions in which democratic standards are not expected to apply.

Then all the factors are provided for an attempt to destroy the very foundations of democratic life.

Men of the outlook of Massu, Salan and De Gaulle develop a contempt for politicians which is founded as much on their own lack of political understanding and principle as upon the shortcomings of the politicians.

All the admirers of French culture and the French spirit will hope that France will come through her present troubles without catastrophe. But the lesson to be learned from the present events has applications beyond the frontiers of France.

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There are those who view the separation of the whites and the blacks into two genuinely equal and independent communities as a means of avoiding domination of either, and as providing a structure with commercial relationships but cultural and physical separation.

On the other hand, there have been the great majority of the supporters of the term who, while they have not objected to this more idealistic exposition of its significance, have been fully aware that this was completely incompatible with the kind of economy they were seeking to build. These supporters have taken it for granted that apartheid really meant keeping the black African in a situation of permanent subordination.

This division is now showing itself organisationally in the Nationalist Party. The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, consisting largely of members of the Nationalist Party, at its Annual Conference at Stellenbosch, denounced the view of apartheid that would use it as a means to White domination—*Baaskap*.

Because of this developing disagreement the Prime Minister, Mr. Strydom, has sought to make clear the official view of the Nationalist Party at a Press conference. He objected to talk of "white leadership." This was dishonest, as it was nonsense to suggest that Africans would voluntarily accept it. Nationalist policy is designed, he said, to ensure that the white man shall remain supreme.

Actually, of course, the term "apartheid" itself is dishonest, and those who control the policy of the Nationalist Party have never intended to act upon it. There may be a time when the black Africans themselves will seize upon an honest interpretation of the word as a means to the advancement of their own policy.

## Resolution

MOST Labour Parties and trade unions are now considering what resolution they will put down for the annual conference of the Labour Party.

They might do far worse than follow the example of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. The AEU has just decided to table the following motion. It was carried unanimously at their annual conference.

Readers will note that it asks the TUC and Labour Party to oppose not only the establishment of American rocket launching sites in Britain but US air bases as well. There can be little doubt of how vulnerable these bases make our country.

As the union is a million strong and has a card vote of more than 700,000 at the Labour Party conference this motion is bound to have considerable backing.

It reads: "This National Committee calls for the immediate acceptance of top level talks with a view to ending the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons.

"We consider that the existence of foreign bases for the launching of such weapons from this country is a major obstacle to world peace and that the carrying of such weapons over this country by American aircraft is a threat to the safety of the British people.

"The Executive Council is therefore instructed to take appropriate steps through the TUC and the Labour Party not only to secure the banning of the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons but also to oppose the establishment of American air bases and rocket launching sites in Britain, and to press for a summit conference as a means of bringing about a system of progressive disarmament."

And—without waiting for the September conference—I hope Labour Parties will press Transport House to continue the campaign which we hoped was begun in Trafalgar Square, for what is the immediate issue, to make the Government stop the nuclear tests.—FRANK ALLAUN, House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

## Opportunity for pacifists

AFTER reading Sybil Morrison's letter (PN, May 16) I was faced with the nightmarish spectacle of a Parliamentary division in which leading pacifists abstained from voting against nuclear war.

Such an attitude, to my way of thinking, is indefensible.

The policy of the Peace Pledge Union over the last two decades has, sadly, failed to make enough pacifists to endanger the

## LETTERS

action against nuclear weapons, the Fellowship Party was formed.

The only sensible course for the disillusioned—who believe in pacifism and in democratic government—to take is to join this new political party.

For those who are near pacifists there is also the Independent Labour Party

Nothing will move the Labour Party quicker in the direction of pacifism or unilateral disarmament than the growth of a new political party which takes votes from Labour Party candidates in ever-increasing numbers! — ERIC FENNER, National Agent, Fellowship Party, 14, Parkgate Road, London, S.W.11.

### Fight the Bomb together

LET'S quit quibbling and splitting hairs. Let's stop discouraging those members of the Labour and Liberal parties who want nuclear disarmament by making petty attacks on them.

I feel we should all, irrespective of our views, rally round any "Ban-the-Bomb" candidate in any by-elections whatever his party. Floods of support and a big vote for any such candidate would help the cause of peace tremendously.

And let us hear no more attacks in your "In Perspective" column that makes it

sound so out of perspective.—ALISTAIR GRAHAM, 18 Perrymead St., London, S.W.6.

### Total peace

I AM afraid Peace News is becoming rather hysterical about this H-bomb business. The campaigns for nuclear disarmament are fine and your reporting of them is excellent, but there is a lot more in peace than opposition to nuclear bombs.

I was really quite shocked by this week's article by "Compass" entitled "Strike Against Mass Murder," to which you gave such prominence. It is the kind of misleading "popular" journalism which I think is unworthy of the high standards of Peace News.

Our main task is to change the thinking of the people, because the vast majority of them are either definitely against us or do not know what they want. And "Compass" does not give them much guidance.

I most heartily endorse Sybil Morrison's plea that the choice today is between total peace and total war. There is for Britain no stable middle way between them.

By all means let us drive home the dangers and stupidity of H-bomb diplomacy, but our task is to win the people for total peace, because nothing less will do. If we fail to make this choice clear we may win more satisfying support, but in the end we

May 23, 1958—PEACE NEWS—5

shall make confusion worse confounded.—ALAN LITHERLAND, 16 Harlech Road, Liverpool 23.

### Strike Against Mass Murder

I FEEL impelled to write in protest at the article appearing in Peace News this week, "Strike Against Mass Murder." I object to the rabble-rousing tone of the piece and to its dishonesty.

The article does not make a moral appeal and does not mention pacifism. The appeal is to anger and fear. Such a wild, hysterical, spluttering tone is not one that one expects from Peace News.—H. P. BUGLASS, Concord, Tickenham, Clevedon, Somerset.

### Pen friends

I AM a Punjabi (Sikh) boy of 15 years old and a matric student. I want some pen friends in England.

My hobbies are sports, pen friendship, travelling, collecting stamps, and picture postcards, and I am interested in world peace and equal rights for people of all colours. I want peace all over the world.

Those boys and girls whose ages are between 10 and 17 and who are fond of pen friendship may write to me in Hindi, English or in Punjabi.

I will gladly write them whatever they will ask from me about India.—KULDIP SINGH, c/o. Janata High School, p.o., Kanchrapara, Dist. 24 Parganas, Near Calcutta, India.

## Algeria: France, colonialism, NATO totter

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

force which can master the situation.

The Communists are the largest party, the Socialists who are second in strength falter and stumble, and the feeling will grow that with this instability resort must be had to the apparent strength of General de Gaulle.

The likelihood is that before long power will be in his hands.

There is a strange contradiction in this situation. General de Gaulle has advocated a solution of the North African problem which was regarded with sympathy by the Arab peoples two years ago. He proposed a federation of the African territories with France, giving Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco independent rights. This is no doubt responsible for the support which M. Bourguiba, the Tunisian President, has apparently given to the suggestion that General

One may sympathise with the plan which General de Gaulle previously advocated for North Africa. One may sympathise with the growth of tendencies which would build a bridge of reconciliation with Russia. Nevertheless, the destruction of democracy in France, the repudiation of the principles of liberty, fraternity and equality which have theoretically constituted her political aim, would be too heavy a price to pay. Freedom and peace can be extended in the world only by those who accept the method of liberty in their own régime and who reject power by the method of dictatorship and force.

### Justice for Algeria

Faced by this crisis, the hope of France lies in the coming together of the democratic forces, now scattered and unco-ordinated, to demand not only justice to the peoples of Algeria but to revitalise the life of the French people. Despite its

Before we turn to the position in France

gar Square, for what is the immediate issue, to make the Government stop the nuclear tests.—**FRANK ALLAUN, House of Commons, London, S.W.1.**

## Opportunity for pacifists

After reading Sybil Morrison's letter (PN, May 16) I was faced with the nightmarish spectacle of a Parliamentary division in which leading pacifists abstained from voting against nuclear war.

Such an attitude, to my way of thinking, is indefensible.

The policy of the Peace Pledge Union over the last two decades has, sadly, failed to make enough pacifists to endanger the Government's preparation for total war.

We have been warned that we may not exist two decades hence.

More in sorrow than in anger, I deplore the fact that some PPU friends appear content to propagate how right is the case for "total peace."

The Establishment will, no doubt, continue to respect them until doomsday arrives.

In my opinion, those "total pacifists" who are prevented by their prejudices to press first for nuclear disarmament are missing an opportunity to create a political climate in which the practical application of pacifist theorising would be most likely to gain ground.—**OWEN DAVID EVANS, 12 Elmwood Road, London, S.E.24.**

## Pacifists and politics

RON HUZZARD Peace News, May 9 claims that "it is not true to say that there is no difference between Labour and the Tories that justifies withdrawal from party politics."

Many of us still remember that it was the Labour Party, between 1945 and 1950, which started this country on the road to nuclear armament. The Tories have merely carried on with this foreign policy, and there is *no evidence at all* that, if the Labour Party were in power today, they would depart one iota from the basic policy of "peace through strength" which they initiated.

But it is utter nonsense to infer that those of us who have realised this grim truth must "withdraw from politics" altogether.

After the General Election of 1955, in which there were several almost forgotten No H-bomb candidates, forerunners of

in Algiers they undermined the structure not only of France and the French Empire but of colonialism everywhere and of the Western Alliance and world relations.

Let us begin with Algeria.

It is evident that the French settlers and military have taken the course of events entirely out of the hands of the elected government in France. They have established their Councils of Public Safety in every centre of the colony where French influence persists, and they have received the full co-operation of the military leaders. They have become, in fact, the effective French administration.

Before we turn to the position in France itself, consider three consequences in Africa.

**The whole of Arab North Africa, already committed to support their Algerian brothers, will act more boldly on their behalf. Tunisia and Morocco will put aside all hesitations. The war may extend from Algeria along the North African coast from Cairo to Casablanca.**

Secondly, the Nationalist movements throughout the French Empire in Africa will respond to the challenge. I have already described in earlier articles how in French West and Equatorial Africa the aim has swung from union with France to independence.

Last week the elections in French Togoland and the French Cameroons resulted in the defeat of the moderate parties and the return of parties which claim independence. The intransigent actions of the settlers in Algeria will immensely strengthen this determination in every French colony.

### General de Gaulle

There will be a similar reaction on the opposite side among the settler communities in African colonies. This will affect British territories little less than French.

**Sir Roy Welensky has already hinted that the settlers in Central Africa will if necessary fight to maintain their domination irrespective of the British Government. The extremists among the settlers in Kenya will be encouraged similarly to embark on bolder threats. The whole tempo of the struggle in Africa will be heightened.**

In France the democratic Republic, however successfully it may meet the challenge of General de Gaulle in its initial stages, will totter on a razor edge. The inability of governments to maintain power for any effective period is already notorious. The people are divided on the issue of Algeria, and there is no single political or social

reaction. The Communists are the largest party, the Socialists who are second in strength falter and stumble, and the feeling will grow that with this instability resort must be had to the apparent strength of General de Gaulle.

**The likelihood is that before long power will be in his hands.**

There is a strange contradiction in this situation. General de Gaulle has advocated a solution of the North African problem which was regarded with sympathy by the Arab peoples two years ago. He proposed a federation of the African territories with France, giving Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco independent rights. This is no doubt responsible for the support which M. Bourguiba, the Tunisian President, has apparently given to the suggestion that General de Gaulle should attain power. It is not certain that the Algerians would now accept federation even on this basis, and the settlers who are extolling de Gaulle would certainly be disillusioned by such a proposal.

**We should then have the paradox that the French Chauvinists, both in Algeria and in France itself, who are now acclaiming General de Gaulle might regard themselves as betrayed if he became dictator.**

### America alarmed

It must not be assumed, of course, that General de Gaulle would maintain his earlier solution if placed in power by the reactionary forces which are now supporting him, but there is another reason why some French intellectuals who have been identified with the Left are also backing de Gaulle. He has prominently advocated that France should break from its dependence upon America.

**It is quite possible that he would take steps to negotiate a treaty of mutual defence with Soviet Russia.**

In such circumstances we might find that the attitude of the Communist Party towards him would change. They would certainly reflect Russian foreign policy in this situation.

This explains why America is so alarmed by the prospect of a de Gaulle triumph. The Western Alliance would lose one of its three principal partners. NATO could no longer have its headquarters in Paris. America and Britain have already come into conflict with France on its policies in Algeria and Tunisia because they do not wish to alienate the Arab peoples from the West. If, however, de Gaulle did in fact pursue a policy acceptable to Arab North Africa, the neutralist area in the world would be strengthened greatly. A new pattern of international relations would emerge.

Nevertheless, the destruction of democracy in France, the repudiation of the principles of liberty, fraternity and equality which have theoretically constituted her political aim, would be too heavy a price to pay. Freedom and peace can be extended in the world only by those who accept the method of liberty in their own régime and who reject power by the method of dictatorship and force.

### Justice for Algeria

Faced by this crisis, the hope of France lies in the coming together of the democratic forces, now scattered and unco-ordinated, to demand not only justice to the peoples of Algeria but to revitalise the life of the French people. Despite its record, there are elements in the French Socialist Party which maintain this purpose. There are those who have been expelled from the Socialist Party. There are intellectual leaders. There are the followers of Mendes France. There are many who belong to the Left in the Catholic Movement. There are thousands of rank and file workers in the Trades Unions, Communist, Socialist and Catholic alike who hold dear the principles of democracy and liberty.

Is it too much to hope that the present crisis will draw them together in a Great Convention which will initiate a campaign of action to safeguard the liberties which have been associated with the best in France since the historic days which established the Republic?

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## Women's Caravan of Peace

The Women's Co-operative Guild invite you to attend the Dedication Service at St. Paul's Cathedral on Saturday, May 24th, at 2.30 p.m.

**The Service will be conducted by The Rev. Canon L. John Collins.**

An Open-Air Meeting will be held from the steps of St. Paul's by The Rev. Canon L. John Collins, Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and members taking part in the "Caravan."

*Come and add your support in the cause of Peace.*

**Women's Co-operative Guild,**  
348 Gray's Inn Rd.,  
London, W.C.1.

## The sixth nuclear power?

From ■ Special Correspondent

A GREAT debate on nuclear weapons has arisen in Sweden.

Swedish generals have urged in memoranda released ■ the Press that Sweden should be the "sixth nuclear power," following France and Western Germany.

The great majority of politicians, however, oppose such ■ policy. A few reluctant MPs have been recruited to speak for the supporters of "the generals' line," but nuclear weapons ■ not even an issue in the present election campaign.

Sweden ■ a neutral State, firmly outside NATO. The minority who have wanted Swedish participation in NATO have never ■ any say in politics and have ■ been able ■ get a single MP to advocate their views.

But the generals argue that Sweden might be attacked by atomic bombs and therefore must have these weapons to defend herself. Since, however, ■ "armed neutrality" ■ repelling ■ invader, not carrying the war on to his soil there would be, ■ former Foreign Minister Mr. Sandler pointed out, "no target for ■ Swedish atomic bomb."

He also said that Sweden outside NATO would not ■ allowed to buy nuclear weapons from the Western Powers, but would have ■ produce her own, which might take ten years.

The widespread recognition that Sweden ■ no longer take part in ■ has led to ■ growing opposition ■ conventional weapons also.

The pacifist outlook is encountered in places ■ before expected, ■ the pacifist alternative to the ■ is repeatedly brought out in radio discussions.

Public opinion is also disturbed by the fact that missiles from both East and West will ■ over Sweden, and by the heavy radio-active fall-out from the Soviet H-bomb tests.

The Swedish debate ■ been followed with great interest ■ Switzerland, where ■ military also favour Swiss atomic weapons, though ■ politicians do not.

"I remaine war and I will never support or sanction another This pledge signed by each member, is

# THE BRIGHTON ERRORS

By F. E. HORNER

Mr. Horner is a member of Bexley Constituency Labour Party, and a member of the National Union of Teachers. He is ■ schoolmaster at Picardy Secondary Modern School for Boys, Erith, Kent, and was an Aldermaston marcher.

THE Labour Party was emasculated at Brighton; and Mr. Aneurin Bevan was the surgeon.

Ever since Brighton, I have been puzzled at the acute indignation expressed by Mr. Bevan at the thought of going into the world's conference chambers "naked," that is, without ■ "skirt" of nuclear weapons. I have wondered what it is that he would want to hide under such ■ "skirt" and I think that I have found the answer:

It is not that ■ would want to hide what is there. It is that he would want to ■ what is not there: a socialist foreign policy.

He would be right to show such modesty. The absence of such a thing would make a Labour Government a political eunuch.

Mr. Bevan's impassioned appeal to the Conference to defeat the resolution not to test, use or make nuclear weapons deprived the Labour Party of its natural foreign policy. I believe that he erred in asking for this resolution to be defeated; I believe that the Labour movement erred in defeating it; and I believe that these errors are of such historic dimensions that they should not remain uncorrected.

## Indisputable facts

The joint statement by the Labour Party and the TUC on disarmament and nuclear weapons does little to repair the harm.

■ is merely an interim policy which is based on the assumption that the possession of nuclear weapons ■ be of service to the country. ■ is ■ disastrous assumption.

When all is said and done, when all the logic is exhausted these indisputable facts remain:

- This country cannot defend itself against nuclear attack.
- Six H-bombs could render this country uninhabitable.
- Nuclear weapons are unique among arms in that the injuries sustained by survivors, if any, are not confined to those people but are transmissible to their descendants, if any.

A Labour supporter calls on his Party to renounce the Bomb



Mr. Horner



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pacifist alternative to the atomic bomb has been repeatedly brought out in radio discussions.

Public opinion is also disturbed by the fact that missiles from the East and West will pass over Sweden, and by the heavy radio-active fall-out from the Soviet H-bomb tests.

The Swedish debate has been followed with great interest in Switzerland, where the military also favour Swiss atomic weapons, though the politicians do not.

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is merely an ~~unjust~~ policy based on the assumption that the possession of nuclear weapons will be of service to this country. This is a ~~dangerous~~ assumption.

When all is said and done, when all the logic is exhausted these indisputable facts remain :

- This country cannot defend itself against nuclear attack.
- Six H-bombs could render this country uninhabitable.
- Nuclear weapons are unique among arms in that the injuries sustained by survivors, if any, are not confined to those people but are transmissible to their descendants, if any.
- Merely to test H-bombs is to wreck the health of thousands of people who would otherwise be healthy.
- Experts differ only on the number of thousands affected by each H-bomb.

## Two parties—one policy

The joint statement does little to change the basic similarity in the foreign policies of the two main parties. At the next election, the people of this country will surely consider the attitudes of these two parties to the most important problem of the age : the problem of physical survival. It will be like spinning a double-headed penny.

The people have no choice. Both the main parties believe that Britain should negotiate from "strength", though God alone knows what they mean by this. There is strength in threat to commit suicide.

Presumably they mean that Britain should negotiate from America's strength, but apparently America does not yet feel strong enough to negotiate from strength, and when she does presumably Russia won't until she is stronger. And so it will go on with each side raising its club higher and higher.

Britain, burdened by its two main parties with nuclear weapons, is therefore committed to this crude policy of : " Make one false move and I'll plug ya," while at the same time pointing the pistol at its own head.

Nuclear weapons are a foreign policy in themselves, in that if a country possesses them certain attitudes must accompany their possession and certain consequences become inevitable. A socialist Minister of Defence would be no more able than a Conservative Minister of Defence to

not speak for me on this subject. I wonder what sort of a country this would be now if the English had felt like that when the Normans invaded in 1066 . . . and invaded with nuclear weapons?

## The price of failure

One ghastly mutant might be saying to another ghastly mutant : " We are in this grisly state because our ancestors hundreds of years ago thought that it was more honourable to fight than to reason." One frightful creature might say to another frightful creature : " We are in this hideous condition because a King Harold did not want to go into the conference chamber naked."

I do not want the Labour Party to invite such consequences by supporting the possession of nuclear weapons. I simply do not have enough confidence in any man, or group of men, to let him negotiate with nuclear war as the price of failure. Such confidence as is needed is based too firmly on the starry-eyed assumption that men are entirely reasonable and will do only reasonable things, an assumption which is shown to be foolish in history.

Even at the risk of embarrassing Mr. Bevan, I want the Labour Party to formulate a socialist foreign policy based on the unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons.

The consequences of renunciation cannot be worse than the consequences of possession. In spite of Mr. Bevan's second thoughts it is still true that one cannot be deader than dead.

The Brighton errors should be corrected whilst there is still time.

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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, May 23

LEWES: 8 p.m.; Corn Exchange. Public Meeting. Kingsley Martin, Rev. Kenneth Rawlings, Rev. Harold Gibson. FoR and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

LONDON, S.W.6: Fulham Town Hall (opp. Fulham B'day Und.): London Local Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors. 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Public admitted.

Saturday, May 24

LONDON, E.C.4: 2.30 p.m.; St. Paul's Cathedral. Declaration Service for Women's Caravan of Peace: Canon Collins. 3.15 p.m., Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Meeting.

PONTEFRACT, YORKS: 10 a.m.; Featherstone-Castleford. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Protest March: speeches and refreshments. Details: David Simpson, 1 Dorchester Ave., Pontefract.

Sunday, May 25

WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA: Band stage, 2 p.m.; Three-day vigil against H-bomb missile. Help gratefully received.

Monday to Saturday, May 26 to 31

LONDON, N.W.3: 3 to 8.30 p.m.; Sat. 31, 11 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 120 Heath St. "No Place to Hide": An Exhibition on the H-bomb. Hampstead Group, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Tuesday, May 27

LONDON, N.15: 8 p.m.; St. Andrew's Hall, Southgate. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Dr. Peter Astbury, Dr. Alex Comfort.

Wednesday, May 28

LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m. Indian Students' Hostel, 41 Fitzroy Sq. "Peace Forum": Panel of leading pacifists to answer your questions. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

MAIDENHEAD: 7.30 p.m.; Town Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Film: "Children of Hiroshima," and Dr. Nicholas Malleson on "The Case for Nuclear Disarmament."

Thursday, May 29

LONDON, E: 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone (near Green Man). Group Discussion: E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

WATFORD: 8 p.m.; Town Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Dr. Alex Comfort, Canon L. John Collins, R. W. Briginshaw.

Friday, May 30

BANGOR: 7.30 p.m. Public Library. Public Meeting on Atomic Energy in Peace and War. Speaker: Dr. Glyn Phillips; Chairman: Goronwy Roberts (MP for Caernarvon). Admission Free. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

LONDON, S.E.21: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Film: "Children of Hiroshima."

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.; Central Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Protest Meeting: "The H-bomb and You." Rev. Michael Scott, Prof. A. J. P. Taylor; Chairman: Leslie E. Day. Admission free.

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Sunday, June 1

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.; Lounge, Institute

## Violence makes for social conservatism

CHRISTOPHER FARLEY reviews

The Chartist Challenge, by A. R. Schoyen. London, Heinemann, 25s.

THE late 1830's saw Britain in a state of acute social unrest. Six out of seven people had no vote, and 2,000,000 could not even afford bread.

The new industrial working class had gained no benefit from the "Great Reform Act" of 1832; hours of labour were still 12 or more a day, for wages of eight to 20 shillings a week. Living in wretchedness and squalor, workers were quite unprotected from vicious exploitation.

Distress and unemployment became widespread in 1836, causing the drafting of a "People's Charter" containing its famous six points for political reform, through which it was hoped economic and social reform would become possible. The Chartists saw their monster petitions rejected with contempt by the House of Commons.

Thwarted by Parliament, the Chartists fell out among themselves, above all, on the question of violence. The "physical force" school adopted as its slogan "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must." The moderate "moral force" men, who had drafted the original Charter, steadily lost influence. Their means were held to be naïve and ineffective, for an alliance with middle class Radicals was widely held suspect, whilst their last resort in direct action, a "National Holiday" (general strike), was but vaguely planned and generally thought to be sure to initiate widespread violence.

When it came to the point, there was no violent revolution. The great mass of Chartists were not anxious to resort to arms, and hundreds of thousands of potential sympathisers were so antagonised by the threat of force that they became solid supporters of the status quo. The movement thus gradually fizzled out, its members turning to the establishment of trade unions.

Lord Lambton, MP, recently asserted that "the core of the Tory Party . . . consists of several million men and women who believe above all in stability, and who, looking with horror on violent change, live quiet, respectable and decent lives." His Lordship may well be right, but if radicals can demonstrate effective means of peaceful

around the life of George Julian Harney, one of the foremost "physical force" leaders. Harney considered pacifism "a weak, wavy flood of moral twaddle," but even he was not uninfluenced by moral appeal. At the close of his days he placed William Lovett, the "moral force" leader, "first in honour" among the Chartists.

## THE TIME IS NOW

By Leonard Bird

Our contributor, a solicitor and member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, is a former deputy sheriff of Hull.

PACIFISTS, like all idealists, have often been told that "the time is not opportune."

Our ideas may be right, we are told, and our faith sincere, but—"this is not the time."

A good example of this happened to me in 1940, just after the fall of France. I arrived at the office one morning to find my desk had been raided by the police. Soon I was summoned to the room of the junior partner to whom I was then articled. On his desk were piled my papers and personal items.

There were no insidious documents or strategic plans of the district, neither was there any pacifist literature except a few copies of Peace News which, as I pointed out, was legal enough to be sold on the streets.

Then my principal pleaded with me to put my pacifism aside "for the time being, and after the war you can pick it up again . . . This is no time for pacifism."

"If you think my principles are such as can be discarded when they are put to the test, you're mistaken," I replied. "I think the time to be a pacifist is now."

## WHAT OF TODAY?

May 23, 1958—PEACE NEWS—7

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Chairman: Wyn Phillips; Chairman: Gordon Roberts (MP for Caernarvon). Admission Free. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

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**Sunday, June 1**

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.; Lounge, Ivanhoe Hotel, Gt. Russell St. Ninth Lecture in "Non-violence and Social Change" series: "Freedom, defence and non-violent resistance." Gene Sharp, MA. Free admission; collection. The 1957 Committee.

**Wednesday, June 4**

**HASTINGS:** 7 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards. Monthly Group Meeting. Speaker: Hilda von Klenze "Non-Violence." PPU.

**Thursday, June 5**

**LONDON, E.:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone (near Green Man). Meeting of E.10 and E.11 PPU Group. Speaker: Arthur Hadley.

**Friday, June 6**

**LONDON, E.C.1:** 8 p.m.; Priory Church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, West Smithfield (St. Paul's Und. Stn.). A Programme of Music by the London International Choir. Conductor: Paul Steinert; Soloists: Frank Merrick—pianoforte and Frederick Woodhouse—singer. Programmes (3s.) from George Sabapathy, 14/15 Kendal St., W.2, or at the Church on June 6.

**LONDON, N.13:** 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church. "The Challenge of Nuclear War to the Church." Rev. D. Holt Roberts, MA (St. George's Presbyterian Church, Palmers Green). Methodist Peace Fellowship.

**LONDON, W.1:** 6.45 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church Hall, Binney St. Annual Meeting of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Speaker: The Rev. Mark Shirley.

**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m.; Arlington Hall, London Rd., Westcliff. Public protest meeting against nuclear weapons. Tickets 6d. Southend West Labour and Co-operative Parties Joint Action Committee. Sec.: Mr. S. Carn, 25 Crawley Rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

**Saturday, June 7**

**ASHFORD, Kent:** 6.30 p.m.; Friends' House, Albert Rd. Open Forum. Panel: Minnie Pallister, Sybil Morrison, Douglas Clark. Chairman: Wilfred J. Suter, MA. PPU.

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**TUESDAYS**

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodists and others. MPF.

**THURSDAYS**

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**FRIDAYS**

**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

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Then my principal pleaded with me to put my pacifism aside "for the time being, and after the war you can pick it up again . . . This is no time for pacifism."

"If you think my principles are such as can be discarded when they are put to the test, you're mistaken," I replied. "I think the time to be a pacifist is now."

## WHAT OF TODAY?

Nineteen-forty—nineteen-fifty-eight: Has the climate changed? It has, considerably. Not that pacifism is accepted—but it is no longer disregarded.

Indeed, in almost every serious debate on defence policy, disarmament or nuclear warfare it is introduced, not always by supporters, but often by those who, though firmly announcing that they are not pacifists, admit we have the only consistent message.

The Right Reverend George MacLeod, in his pamphlet, "The Ground Men Call Pacifism," said that once a man begins to question the efficacy of war or of defence by military might, he will have his feet planted on the slope which will take him to "the ground men call pacifism."

Almost every day we see more evidence of this. Who could have imagined, during the Korean War, that General MacArthur was soon to be dubbed "pacifist" (not that he is one), or, a year ago, that a distinguished naval officer, Commander King-Hall, would be addressing an assembly of military leaders on "non-violent resistance"?

## ARE PACIFISTS PREPARED?

I believe we are on the flood-tide of a movement of public opinion in this matter such as has never been known before. Is the pacifist organisation prepared for it?

The task before the pacifist today has not changed; it is only more urgent and vital.

We are called upon to increase our endeavours. We must make sure that the occasions when non-violent resistance has been tried and proved successful are widely known.

Our greatest task, perhaps, will be to carry forward to this ground men call pacifism the many thousands who, for whatever reason, are prepared not to be defended by nuclear weapons.

The fate of the world may depend upon the ability of the pacifists to accomplish at least this.

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Many subjects and problems relating to "Mankind One Family" (cover shown above) are brought together in a reading list produced by Bethnal Green Public Libraries in the East End of London.



No. 1,143 May 23, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## Support grows for March on London

**I**N order to secure the maximum co-operation and unity for the March on London on June 22, the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War has agreed that the March should be organised by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with their full support, from a March Committee Office at 348 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

Office facilities have been made available by the London Co-op. Party Political Committee, which is among the bodies represented on the Co-ordinating Committee.

The national office of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is at 146 Fleet Street, E.C.4. The Direct Action Committee's office is at 344 Seven Sisters Road, N.4.

### HAMPSTEAD H-DISPLAY

**A**N exhibition on the H-bomb, "No Place to Hide," will be held at Hampstead Friends' Meeting House, 120, Heath Street, London, N.W.3, from May 26 to 31, after which it will travel throughout the country.

The display, organised by the Hampstead Group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, challenges Civil Defence and the concept of the "deterrent."

### 3 DAY ROCKET VIGIL

# WOULD YOU DROP THE BOMB?

*Pacifists call for end of all war*

By TERENCE CHIVERS

"THE challenge of the H-bomb is this—would you use it?"

This was the dramatic question which Carol Taylor, 19-year-old London University science student, posed to an audience of several hundreds in Trafalgar Square, London, last Saturday. She was speaking at the public meeting, "The Challenge of the H-bomb," organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

### MASS LOBBY

● FROM PAGE ONE

"The ideas of the Sermon on the Mount and the ideas Gandhi tried to put across may be the alternative," he concluded.

Dr. Soper then told the Lobbyists: "If by the end of June we haven't achieved this objective, we shall take other methods.

"We've got to translate what we are saying into political action."

Referring to the Mass March on London planned for June 22, the Rev. Donald Soper declared: "This cause doesn't stop at demonstrations. If this doesn't succeed, it is necessary to do other things." This remark brought the greatest cheer of the evening.

It was echoed by Clive Jenkins. The Electricians' Trade Union would recommend their members not to work on rocket sites, he said to waves of applause. "I hope all Trade Unionists will make this their official policy."

"I am not with Sir Richard Acland when he says this (Nuclear Disarmament) is a five year job. If we could get people to do this it would be a three or six months' job."

"The Press will have to take note of this demonstration," said Ernie Roberts of the

ment would tempt war. "Isn't it high time that some nation tempted peace by disarmament?" asked Mr. Macquarie.

Leslie Hale, the Labour member of Parliament for Oldham West, drew his listeners' attention to the financial burden of arms. We could not build up armaments and at the same time apply ourselves to wiping out the scourges of sickness.

Speaking of Algeria, he pointed out that the money spent on that war could have brought peace, and he added, "one-tenth of the money we have spent on armaments for Kenya could have brought reconciliation."

Canon Scrutton, Chairman of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, declared: "There is no excuse whatever for a nation that professes to follow Christ—as this nation does—to prepare to bomb and kill men, women and children."

### WHITE PAPER

The attention of the audience was drawn to the White Paper on Defence by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

The White Paper said: "The world is poised between the fear of total war and the hope of total peace."

The first thing to consider was the best way to achieve total peace. There could be no permanent peace in a world that was armed. We had to achieve total disarmament.

There were three ways that could be done.

The first was that advocated by the politicians of both parties. They wanted total disarmament by international agreement under an adequate system of inspection and control. Until then, they held, we had to maintain the nuclear deterrent.

The second way for the achievement of peace was that offered by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

After outlining the policy of the Cam-

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**A** THUNDERBIRD rocket over 400 feet long will be shown for the first time in public at Southend this weekend. The Army has arranged this exhibition, including a working model, to encourage "recruitment for a rocket army."

A local Anglican clergyman is arranging a three-day protest vigil to show posters, distribute leaflets and talk to visitors to the exhibition. Volunteers should contact Roy J. Simpkins, 184 Westcliff Park Drive, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

A crowd of 1,700 met at Birmingham Town Hall Monday night in a mass meeting against the continuation of nuclear weapons tests.

**B**RITAIN has always been proud of its athletic records, and in the many and varied sports at which British men and women have excelled, the finest prize of all has usually been some kind of gold or silver cup.

These trophies are proudly displayed on mantelpieces and tables, in University Halls and School Halls, in Club Rooms and Pavilions.

The peoples of other nations were once inclined to laugh at Britain for the fetish she made of sport and its trophies; then they began to train assiduously to emulate and to wrest from us these gold and silver emblems of prowess.

Now, however, that the bombing crew which is successful in wiping out London, Manchester, Glasgow and Birmingham with all their inhabitants will be able to display with pride a cup commemorating this hideous deed, perhaps other nations will no longer feel inclined to laugh, or even, let it be hoped, to emulate.

This week the bombers are flying over our heads; the droning note of the high-powered planes, the whining shriek of the lightning jets will be heard, but the scream

demonstrations, if this doesn't succeed, it is necessary to do other things." This remark brought the greatest cheer of the evening.

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**"I am not with Sir Richard Acland when he says this (Nuclear Disarmament) is a five year job. If we could get people to do this it would be a three or six months' job."**

"The Press will have to take note of this demonstration," said Ernie Roberts of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Dr. Soper, before introducing the next speaker, said: "I do not believe a Christian can muck about with any weapon and carry round the Gospel." (Prolonged applause.)

"We have got to turn these passionate beliefs of ours into action," Ian Mikardo, MP., agreed. "This can not and must not be the end . . . Let us go away proud and dedicated."

"I know I am speaking for about 80 other Labour MPs," Frank Allam, MP., declared. "You are already beginning to shift the governments. On June 22 we'll have a meeting 10 times as large as this."

"Keep up this pressure," he concluded,

was "to discuss the pacifist case, not only against the H-bomb, but against war itself."

The threat of the H-bomb was not stopping Communism from spreading. If we believed in social democracy, we had to show that social democracy had something better to offer.

The Rev. Clifford MacQuire, a minister in a Glasgow Congregational Church and a former General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, stressed that war might come by accident but that "peace comes by action."

"I don't believe in war," said Mr. MacQuire, "because I believe every man is precious."

He asked his audience whether they were prepared to take action for peace. Were they ready to take no part in the manufacture of weapons. Were the young men willing to become conscientious objectors. Were the young women prepared to talk to their young men about this.

It had been said that unilateral disarma-

"and I believe we're going to win."

The meeting ended at 11 p.m. with three deafening cheers. "Let's hope they hear them in Downing Street," said someone at the microphone. "And we hope you'll get your feet in good order for the next march."

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The second way for the achievement of peace was that offered by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

After outlining the policy of the Campaign, Stuart Morris pointed out that in unilateral terms the Campaign wanted action only against one weapon. But a campaign for unilateral action against one weapon was the same as a campaign for limited war. And unless you liquidated all your scientists, who knew how to make the bomb even if it had been destroyed, a limited war would rapidly develop into total war.

The third way was the pacifist way—the principle of unilateral action applied to all weapons of war.

"Only when you've made up your mind that it is war itself that must be renounced can you go on to build total peace," concluded Stuart Morris.

the massacre; if they were to think for a moment of the silent deadly radio-active fall-out burning through the bodies of their own loved ones, it might perhaps "give them pause"; perhaps the hand reached out to press the button or pull the switch might refuse its function and the man in the pilot's seat recoil from the horror of the deed.

When the men, some of them mere boys, who flew over Hamburg, Cologne, on their "obliteration bombing" operations; when those who released the atom bombs on Japan and soared away before the monstrous mushroom which has since shadowed the world, should touch them, it is probable that their minds were dulled to the consequences of their acts. But now it is known. There can be no doubt in the minds of any one to-day what nuclear warfare means.

That hitting the targets of great cities with H-bombs should be rewarded instead of denounced and condemned is the logical consequence of belief in war as a final resort. Only when war has been renounced will peace become possible; when that great victory is won, no gold or silver cups will be needed; peace will be its own reward.

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By Sybil Morrison

## THE CUP FINAL

*RAF Vulcan and Valiant bombers and four American B.52 bombers are taking part in a navigation and nuclear bombing contest over Britain. A cup will be awarded to the winners. . . . London, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester and other large cities will be the targets.*

prizes to those who take great and courageous risks with their own lives; to die for one's country is heroic, and it is usual not to mention that what war really demands of men is not dying but killing.

Now, however, a prize is offered openly for killing. These men, who are flying their huge bombers over our heads this week, are probably good and kind-hearted men, possibly with wives and children, certainly with fathers and mothers, perhaps brothers and sisters.

The lure of a silver cup seems a pretty paltry inducement for forgetting what they are, in fact, practising to do to the wives and children, fathers and mothers in other big cities in other countries.

If they were to imagine the hideous havoc, the concentrated cruelty, the mutilation and

of the falling bomb, the blinding, searing flash, the crashing roar of disintegrating buildings, the shrieks and groans of shattered, mutilated human beings will not be heard.

These dreadful sights and sounds will be heard and seen only in imagination, and the reporting of this dreadful contest is deliberately "played down" so that imagination is dulled and drugged; even the attempt to arouse the competitive spirit by the offer of a prize for the best effort at wholesale massacre is announced as though it were an award for the fastest runner or the highest jumper.

Competing in death-dealing is, of course, the very essence of war, though the truth has always been camouflaged by giving